The

100 Yen

ONE KOREA

FAKE UNIFICATION SLOGAN

Currency Reform Fiasco

Economy Paralyzed

Crackdown on Press

Donga Ilbo Case

No. 14

August 1962

Our Aims and Demands

Liberation from Japanese Imperialism did not bring complete freedom and independence to Korea. Instead, the Big Powers of the world split the Korean territory and nation into two countries. And to this day, the Korean people have been suffering for sixteen long years under the most piteous and distressing conditions. Not only have we constantly wandered on the brinks of death, pressed by poverty and oppression, but we at last had to commit the most shameful mistake in our history: Incited by foreign powers, we Koreans engaged ourselves in the horrible task of killing our own brothers during that tragical Korean War. Yet, in spite of all these sufferings and injustices, the Korean people obediently held trust in the good faiths of the Big Powers, and solely believed that they would carve out the future of Korea for us.

But today we have finally realized our stupidity. We know well now that we must carve out our own destiny with our own hands, that is, the Korean nation must realize unification of Korea by the nation's own powers if it is willing to live. And the people's uprising in April last year which overthrew that most atrocious government of all times, the Syngman Rhee regime, without borrowing any aid from others, has given us the confidence that we can accomplish this aspiration.

We, as members of the Korean nation and campaigners for the unification movement, urged by such consciousness and confidence, propose here that our Independent and Peaceful Unification shall commence by conducting mutual contact and exchange between the North and South Korean people. Whereby, we are sure, brotherly love will be renewed and North and South negotiations invited; thus enabling concrete plans for unification to be worked out. We also believe that the unification must be not only the unification of the Korean territories but also of the divided nation. And in order to reflect the true will of the entire nation on the unification, we call for a Free General Elections to be held throughout North and South Korea; and through these elections, a Unified Central Government shall be established. From these standpoints, we demand:

1) *To immediately open up exchanges of letters, civilian travel, culture and trade between North and South Korea.*
2) *To convene at once an All-Korea Conference represented by delegates from the Governments, political parties and civil organizations of both Koreas, to study and work out the measures for preparing the All-Korea General Elections and establishing the Unified Central Government.*

We are convinced that these demands are fully legitimate, equitable and just since they are based on the standpoints of humanity, fundamental rights and the principle of self-determination. Still we cannot ignore the bearings which the Korean Unification problem has on the international relations. Thus emphasizing the original mission of the United Nations; respecting the authority of the 1954 Geneva Conference in which both the North and South Korean Delegations had participated, and acknowledging adoption of the Agreements reached at the said Conference, we request the nations concerned:

1) *To call as soon as possible an International Conference that shall further the accomplishments of the Political Conference on the Korean Question held at Geneva in 1954, and accelerate the Korean unification by assisting the independent unification movements of the Korean people.*
   Besides those nations which participated in the 1954 Conference, delegations from the four nations constituting the Korean Armistice Observation Commission (Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Czechoslavakia) and India shall participate in the proposed Conference.
2) *All nations participating in this International Conference shall assume the responsibility to secure the peace in the Korean Peninsula and to guarantee the peaceful development of Unified Korea.*
   In order to secure these guarantees, the United States, the Soviet Union and all other countries shall immediately stop supplying weapons and all other military aids to the present Governments of North and South Korea; shall pledge to assist in the reconstruction of Korea on conditions of non-intervention in her internal affairs and also not to utilize Unified Korea as military bases; and shall recommend immediate membership of Unified Korea to the United Nations.
3) *The same nations shall also support, when requested, the projects of the Unification Projects Agency which will be established by tne All-Korea Confererecce, and also set up an International Supervision Commission to supervise the All-Korea General Elections which will be administered by the above Agency.*
   The International Supervision Commission shall be formed by nations that did not participate in the Korean War, but elected by the participating nations in the proposed International Conference and confirmed by the United Nations.
4) *The foreign armed forces stationed in Korea shall be replaced by International Police Forces ana evacuate Korea as soon as possible.*
   The International Police Forces shall be organized by troops from nations that did not participate in the Korean War; shall have missions to maintain the peace in Korea and also to secure an atmosphere in which free and fair elections can be enforced; and shall withdraw from Korea when requested by the Unified Korea Government.

Unification of Korea is a matter of life and death to the Korean people. No one, no nation should be allowed to bar our way. Therefore, we here appeal to the world to understand and to extend its support to our aims and demands.

ONE KOREA

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF NEWS AND VIEWS ON KOREAN UNIFICATION MOVEMENTS

Aug. 15, 1962 No. 14

CONTENTS

Our Aims ..... (Coverback)

True Liberation .....(3)

Fake Unification Slogan .....(5)

Currency Reform Fiasco .....(13)

Constitution Amendment .....(17)

Crackdown on Press ...(19)

New Corruption in Army .....(21)

N. and S. Korean Addresses .....(22)

News of the Month ..... (back cover)

Published Monthly by

TONG-IL CHOSEON SHINMOON INC.

(Newspaper for Korean Unification)

Publisher & Editor:
YEE YOUNG KEUN

1-1 Yotsuya, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, Japan

Tel. Tokyo (341)5849, (351)8213

Printed in Japan

True Liberation

August 15 is called by Koreans their Liberation Day and when this day comes around each year, Koreans living in the North, the South and abroad gather to celebrate. August 15, in truth, should be the most joyful day for Koreans since it was on this day 17 years ago that they were liberated from the fetters of Japanese colonial rule.

But, just why is it that, in recent years, a feeling of sorrow and emptiness is apt to steal in our hearts before joy comes in when this day comes along? This apparently is because we still see Korean parents and children, brothers and sisters who should be celebrating this day together, still unable to see or hail one another due to the division of the country. It is also because we find Koreans, tied to foreign powers, still trembling before the threats of war and battered by the uttermost impoverishment.

Is it permissible to leave Koreans in such misery that has continued for 17 long years since Liberation? In the name of humanity, an immediate end must be put on the continuous tragedies of the Korean nation and the divided state of Korea.

In reality, however, the earnest desire of the Korean nation has been neglected and not one positive international action towards solution of the Korean Unification Question can be observed. What is worse is that the will of the Korean nation has been completely ignored and Korea is being exploited solely as a battleground of the East-West rivalry. And by asserting preference of international over national interests, superficial justifications of the abnormal division of Korea are being put forth to secure the interests of the powers concerned. For this sake, an intensive armament race is being stepped up in the Korean peninsula in the name of defending the divided areas and thus the permanent division of Korean territory and nation is being perpetuated.

The division of Korea which has plunged the nation into the pit of deep misery, is the work of the Big Powers. The misery began from the very day on which Korea was divided—August 15, 1945. So is it not just that Koreans protest on this Diberation Day against the post war Korean policies of the Big Powers and demand that the misery imposed on the Korean nation be relieved and unification be admitted? And is it not the duty of Koreans to appeal to the conscience of mankind to get the Big Powers to leave the settlement of the problem up to the Koreans themselves?

17 years have gone by since the Korean nation was divided into two against its wishes. The condition has brought about too many tragedies. It is high time that cold war interests be sacrificed for the sake of humanity and unification be realized for Korea. Such, in turn, will make a definite breakthrough to world peace.

In the world of today, no one has the right to obstruct a nation's way towards freedom and happiness, no matter what justifications he may have—even for the sake of collective defense. Once again, on feting our Liberation Day, we must stress that Korea must be unified independently and peacefully in accords with the principle of self-determination.

Welcoming Laos Settlement

The signing of the International Agreement concerning the Neutrality of Laos on July 23 finally brought peace unto this war-torn little kingdom in Southeast Asia and the country will be guaranteed its unity, independence and territorial integrity, while all foreign forces are to be withdrawn.

It was a long and weary way before Laotians reached a final settlement. Laotians who were known for centuries as a peaceful and pious Bhuddist nation, had to engage in a civil war in which the people split into three factions of rightists, neutralists and leftists, killed one another. The civil war, of course, was instigated by those elements who furnished justifications that the conflict was unavoidable under the present international situation plagued by the East-West rivalry. The miserable state into which the Laotians were driven by this "deputy war" can be compared to that of Koreans and South Vietnamese who have been suffering under equally bad conditions.

So, it is quite welcoming that an international agreement was finally signed between the leading powers of both the East and West camps and that all foreign armed forces which had been the main source of all the trouble in Laos are to evacuate within 75 days after the signing of the agreement.

Post war trends of the world, however, show that international cooperations are apt to be scrapped often and we cannot conceal the fear that the Laotian neutrality pact might not be observed as strictly as presumed. The political conference agreed on by the Korean Armistice Agreement nine years ago, still has not borne any real fruit and for which sake the Korean Unification Question has been totally neglected; while the North-South Vietnamese Unification Elections decided on by the 1954 Geneva Conference has not as yet been enforced and for which account, chaos is now ruling in South Vietnam There lie dangers that neutral Laos might have to trod the same troublesome road.

In view of such fears, we must stress that the guarantee of Laotian unity and neutrality is not only for the sake of safeguarding Laotian independence and the happiness of the Laotian people, but it is the only road that will ensure the peace of Laos and be directly connected to the peace of Southeast Asia, the Korean peninsula and the world as well. So we must, at all costs, secure the unity and neutrality of Laos and, for that, we must, first of all, throw out the present rulers of South Korea and South Vietnam who are maneuvering to undermine the unity and neutrality of Laos in order to cause further tensions for the sake of maintaining their ruling positions.

The application of the Laotian formula to these areas, as a matter of fact, is a sure way to get rid of these warmongering leaders of South Korea and South Vietnam, namely the Park Chung-Hee and Ngo Dinh Diem factions. The actions will, in return, safeguard the accomplishments in Laos.

FAKE UNIFICATION SLOGAN

of ROK Militarists

The word peaceful unification is a taboo in South Korea where the militarists who are dead against unification rule. Nevertheless the militarists posted unification as one of their "revolutionary" objectives when they forced themselves into the ruling position of the country last year. And in spite of the fraudulent nature of their unification plan, the miltarists' version of unification is apt to be mistaken by some sectors of the world as the representative standpoint of the South Korean nation on this life and death problem. In view of such misunderstanding, we consider it necessary to give a thorough refutation of the militarists' fake unification plan.

I Fake Slogan

"We shall strengthen our material power and determination to combat Communism, looking forward to the eventual achievement of our unchangeable goal of national unification."—This is the militarists' "revolutionary pledge" no. 5 which defined the militarists' basic attitude towards unification.

This slogan adorn by such phrases as "unchangeable goal of national unification" and "strengthen our material power and determination", might give the impression that the military government leaders possess deep and honest concern towards unification of Korea. Such, however, is but an illusion created by the fraudulent phrases.

When the real contents of the slogan are analyzed, we can easily see that it is a plan identical with the plan of "democratic unification through anti-Communism" advocated by some conservatives before out of political strategy. The slogan like this plan is not only an empty argument but essentially against unification, for its hidden aim is to perpetuate the present divided state of Korea instead of doing anything in the direction to realize unification.

This slogan of the militarists which might be called a "unification plan through showdown with the Communists", is the sole legal unification doctrine in South Korea now and it is being persistently propagated abroad as the guilding principle on Korean unification, whereby ensuing misunderstandings and confusions.

Ambiguity of Slogan

Such misunderstandings and confusions come from the lack of knowledge of the essentials of the Korean unification question and also of the true colors of those who advocate this "unification through showdown with the Communists" doctrine. The regrettable trend is obstructing the way to a real unification of Korea nonetheless. So, the contradicting empty and fraudulent characters of this pseudo unification plan must be laid bare.

Let us first analyze the logical structure of the slogan. The slogan is constructed by three parts: "to strengthen our power and determination"; "to combat Communism" and "looking forward to achieve our unchangeable goal of national unification." The logic here clearly indicates that the strengthening of the material power is not pointed directly at the achievement of the goal of national unification but towards combatting Communism. Unification, more or less, is treated as a means to "combat Communism" as the relation between "material power to combat Communism" and

unification is quite vague. In other words, the most important point in question as to how the strengthening of material power to combat Communism will bring about unification remains unexplained. The point, as a matter of fact, has not as yet been clarified to this day by the militarists or by their theoretical supporters.

As the point is left ambiguous, we will have to proceed by judging through deduction of the slogan and in order to bring down an accurate judgement, the following points must be clarified:

(1) What exactly is the Communism contemplated in the phrase: "to strengthen our material power to combat Communism"?
(2) What is meant by "material power" in concrete terms?
(3) Can South Korea strengthen such "material power"?
(4) What sort of unification is it that will be realized through combatting Communism by strengthening the material power of the nation?
(5) Why do the militarists advocate such unification plan?

Communism to be Combatted

The first point of note in this pseudo unification slogan of the militarists is the ambiguity of the Communism defined as the opponent to be combatted. Since it is an opponent to be combatted, it cannot be the Communism in the ideological sense, but must be a substantial being. In this case, the following three can be considered as the opponent contemplated:

(1) The North Korean Communist regime ruling the northern half of the divided Korean peninsula.
(2) The North Korean Communist regime and the Communist powers including Soviet Russia and Communist China supporting that regime.
(3) The Communists and their followers that will run in the All-Korea General Elections for Unification.

The Communism contemplated by the militarists could be just one of the three, two put together or all three but when the nature of the subject and the conditions surrounding the subject of the slogan are taken into consideration, the Communism meant will become clear to us.

The subject of the slogan, of course, is the ROK military regime. The material power to be strengthened, therefore, means the strengthening of the material power of the ROK military regime and also that of South Korea which the military regime governs today. In this case, it would be impossible to combat Soviet Russia or Communist China, no matter how much the power of the ROK military regime and South Korea is strengthened. So, the opponent to be combatted is either the North Korean Communist regime or the Communist forces that will participate in the All-Korea General Elections for Unification.

The projected All-Korea General Elections for Unification does not necessarily mean a showdown between the two countries of North and South Korea. The election must and will at least guarantee the electorates free expression of their will, whereby voters will throw away their present notions as citizens of North Korea or South Korea and return to the common standpoint of equal Koreans and cast their votes as members of the Korean nation and according to their respective political beliefs. The votes of North and South Korean electorates will be casted neither for the North Korean or South Korean governments nor only for those forces devoted to those governments. Instead the electorates will choose among a limitless scope of political forces, starting from the anti-Communist militarists on the right, through Liberal Democrats, Social Democrats to the Communists on the left. There also could be many parties in between them as well as forces and factions uniting or mergering such political isms.

Now if the military regime contemplates the Comunist forces to appear in these elections as its opponents to be combatted and, therefore, assumes that the entire

South Korean nation would vote for the South Korean government, such is a bad illusion.

So, we come to the conclusion that the opponent contemplated by the military regime in strengthening the material power of South Korea is none other than the North Korean Communist regime and, in fact, that regime is the opponent the militarists have in mind.

What sort of Material Power?

Now what sort of material power is it that the ROK military regime have in mind to strengthen to combat the North Korean Communist regime?

The contents of the material power could be many things but since the opponent to be combatted must be the North Korean Communist regime, the material power indicates a power that can surpass that of the Korean Democratic People's Republic. And as the power does not mean fixed things like natural resources but changeable things that could be bolstered artificially, three basic forces can be listed: They are military strength, economic strength and united strength of the nation.

In view of the present confrontation of the two governments of Republic of Korea and Korean Democratic People's Republic, the question of military strength should be dealt with first.

Theoretically, there should be no North and South Korean arms race in the Korean peninsula, for the Armistice Agreement of the Korean War signed on July 27, 1953 pegged the military strength of both Koreas at the Armistice level and decided that unification of Korea will be resolved not through a military showdown but through peaceful negotiations at a political conference.

(There is an argument that South Korea is not bound by the decisions of the Armistice Agreement since it did not sign the Agreement. It is true that South Korea did not sign the Agreement but as ROK military representatives later participated in the Military Armistice Committee and South Korea sent its delegation to the 1954 Geneva Political Conference on the Korean Unification Question, such argument is groundless.)

In reality, however, the decisions of the Armistice Agreement have been completely ignored and intensive military build-ups including atomic weapons have been going on, whereby both Koreas now possess military strengths several times that of the Armistice level. The intensive arms race is still going on and the ROK military regime's design is that South Korea must first of all bolster its military might in order to subjugate the North Korean Communist regime.

Let us next examine the question of economic strength. Most of the money to maintain and bolster the South Korean armed forces is supplied through U.S. military aid to Korea. Still direct defense expenditures appropriated by the 1962 national budget amount to 171.8 billion hwan or about 140 million dollars. And all this money must be furnished by the economic resources of the country. The strengthening of South Korea's economic strength is necessary not only for bolstering its military strength. Overall economic superiority is requisite for the militarists if they are to win in the race of raising living standards between the two different political systems.

The united strength of the nation against Communism is another element needed for the militarists to "combat" North Korean Communist regime. No matter how superior the military might of professional soldiers and mercenaries, efficient the production capacity of the industries and excellent the anti-Communism consciousness of the elite may be, still it would not be enough for the militarists to overcome the North Korean Communist regime, for as a showdown with the North Korean Communist regime is an idealogical warfare, a solid support by the entire nation would be needed. Without the united strength of the nation behind them, the militarists have no chances of succeeding in

their "combat" with the North Korean regime.

II Impossibility

Is Strengthening of Material Power Possible?

Can these strengths be nurtured? Can present South Korea ruled by the military regime nurture military and economic strength surpassing those of North Korea and also gain the solid support of the nation as well?

Military Strength: When the military strengths of North and South Korea (South Korean Defense Forces and North Korean People's Army) are compared, we find that South Korea has armed forces of 630,000 men whose main constituent is the 570,000-man army and North Korea about 400,000 men topped by its 350,000-man army. Since both forces are equiped with up-to-date weapons including nuclear cannons, it is difficult to determine which is superior. ROK has more tonnage of naval vessels but North Korea far outpasses South Korea in aerial strength possessing 900 warplanes in comparison to 250 of S. Korea and among the 900 planes 700 are Russian-made MIG jet fighters. (All 1961 figures).

Recent trends, however, show that both sides have been cutting, though few, the number of military personnel in place of modernizing equipments and firing power to meet the demands of military progress. The reduction of personnel owes to the fact that the national budgets of both Koreas cannot naintain such gigantic armies and especially in the case of South Korea, the decrease in U.S. military aid has necessitated the reduction.

So under the present circumstances wherein additional budget spending for defense is impossible and no hopes of ROK militarists to strengthen the South Korean military strength beyond the present level so as to overcome the North Koreans.

Economic Strength: "Northern industries" and "southern agriculture" are the geographic characteristics of the Korean peninsula. North Korea abundant in mineral and industrial resources, has been the industrial center of Korea possessing extensive installations. South Korea in sharp contrast, has been the agricultural center of Korea. The state remains the same today even after experiencing that destructive Korean war. North Korea which suffered worse destruction, immediately got down to the work of reconstruction and today all its industries have surpassed the pre-Korean War level; whereas South Korea, in spite of receiving a total of 2.5 billion dollars of U.S. economic aid since 1954 (figure by USOM statistics) has shown hardly any recovery except in some light consumer industries like textile, milling and sugar refining.

Due to the difference in recovery, a wide gap has developed between the two countries. When total output of major industries are compared, we see that North Korea surpasses South Korea 10 times in electricity, 5 times in coal, 10 times in pig iron and steel, 6 times in cement, and 5 times in chemical fertilizers. The superiority of N. Korea here is overwhelming. Furthermore N. Korea has developed its agriculture up to a self-sustaining level; while S. Korea has to receive more than 3 million tons of farm goods aid from the United States each year.

The conditions are directly reflected on the economic growth rate North Korea's growth rate for 1961 was estimated at around 14%; whereas that of South Korea registered only 2.8% according to Government statistics. But as this latter figure did not take the population growth of 2.89 % into consideration, actual South Korean growth rate was minus 0.09%.

How about the outlook into the future? The ROK military regime has launched its

5-year economic development plan (1962-66) which comprises a yearly economic growth rate of 7.1% and an increase of 40 % in gross national product (basic year: 1960) during the 5-year period. But the prospects for the plan's success is quite dark even if the militarists' rule should continue up to 1966, for procurement difficulties in investments for the plan at the very beginning of the program and such economic blunders as the recent currency reform fiasco have definitely impaired the progress of the development plan already.

As regards North Korea, it is undertaking a "7-year plan" (1961-67) which comprises lifting of industrial output by 320% and gross national product by 270% over 1960.

Just taking these development plans in view, we find that there lie no chances of South Korea overtaking North Korea in any near future in this race of building up economic strength. (An argument might be raised here claiming that the reasoning above has not dealt with the strength of South Korea fairly, for incomes like foreign assistances and the prospective property claims accounts on Japan are not counted. U.S. economic aid which occupy bulk of the foreign assistances, as a matter of fact, is already compiled in the 5-year plan. The money that might come in from the properties claim on Japan is not included but even if all the 500 million dollars that South Korea expects to get from Japan is secured and invested in this plan, it will still only amount to 20% of the over-all capital investment estimated at 2.5 billion dollars and so South Korea can hardly equal the growth rate of North Korea.)

United Strength: It is often said that the majority of South Koreans hate the North Korean Communist regime. Many reasons have been given for the hatred. One is that the anti-Communist policies and propaganda carried out by all the past rulers of South Korea, from Japanese imperialists through U.S. occupation, Syngman Rhee, Chang Myun up to the present military regime has deeply rooted an anti-Communist feeling within the nation. Another is that the hostility arising from the notion that North Korean Communists were the aggressors in the tragical war and the hatred borne by the atrocities committed by the North Korean army during the war still remains in the hearts of the South Korean people. The argument is convincing.

Still, nearly 10 years have already passed since the Korean War ended. Some may yet breed bitterness and hatred but times have changed. The up-coming new generation of youngsters and youths is more interested in "national unification" than anti-Communism. Most of these young people believe that all members of the Korean nation, including Communists, should work together in the direction to realize national unification. And even among the older generations who hate Communism and the North Korean Communist regime as aggressors, an atmosphere of discontent and hate towards the economic depression, living difficulties and dictatorial control on social life is apparently growing, whereby the unpleasant memories and fears towards Communism are receding into the background.

When such is the trend, which class of the nation is it that still supports this military regime which has become the worst government of all times and is terrorizing the nation while stepping up its policy to perpetuate the permanent division of Korea? These elements, of course, are those handful of officials of the present regime or those being bestowed favors from that government and also those few who are profitting through the anti-democratic, suppressive policies and anti-national, devisionist policies of the present military regime. Some might say that the voices of the opposition are hardly audible to admit such reality, but such doubts should melt away when one realizes that the people is in no position to speak their minds having the militarists' sword brandished before their throats.

III Use of Force

Compulsory Unification

As we have observed above, it is an impossibility for South Korea to strengthen, under the present circumstances, its military and economic strength to an extent to overtake North Korea. And whether the showdown is to be a race in military strength or economic strength, it is beyond hopes that the entire South Korean nation would offer solid support to its government, especially to the present military regime. Now, just what kind of a unification slogan is this that constitutes itself on top of such impossibility?

The various formulas for Korean unification can be grouped into two main categories of compulsory unification through the use of force on the one hand and peaceful unification through negotiations one the other. Another classification is whether the unification is to be gained by the nation's own power or through the assistance of foreign powers. The militarists' idea of unification belongs to the former, comprising eventual use of force and help from abroad.

The military regime's slogan looks forward to realizing unification by combatting Communism and in order to prepare for the combat, material power of South Korea is to be strengthened. What is meant by "combat" in concrete terms? Two cases can be thought of. One is the showdown between the North Korean Communist regime and the South Korean government and the other is the showdown between the non-Communist political parties and forces and the Communist parties and forces that will participate in the coming All-Korea General Elections for Unification.

As observed above, the subject of the militarists's unification slogan is not the non-Communist forces to participate in the Elections for Unification but the military regime itself, so the "combat" meant here is none other than that between the North and South Korean governments.

Same as "Marching North"

The militarists' unification slogan therefore, comes under the category of compulsory unification using force and also that through the assistance of foreign powers. And ultimately it is the same as the "unification by marching north" and "unification by holding general elections only in North Korea" advocated by the Syngman Rhee regime. The difference is that Syngman Rhee was more honest in openly advocating unification of Korea through the conquest of the north by the use of armed forces and also asserting the expansion of ROK sovereignty into The North Korean area through general elections to be held only in North Korea to choose its representatives to the ROK National Assembly; whereas the present military regime, taking care not to irritate the public and foreign powers, has resorted to such ambiguous expression as strengthening "material power to combat Communism looking forward toward the goal of national unification", which, in essence, is an acknowledgement of the inferiority of South Korea to North Korea.

So it must be said that the militarists' unification slogan, like the Syngman Rhee's "unification by marching north" and "unification by holding general elections only in North Korea" which ended in mere propaganda, is an utter impossibility under the present domestic and international situations.

IV Perpetuation of Divided State

Maintaining Military Rule

Then why must the military regime advocate such unification idea which has no chances of realization? And why do the militarists reject and suppress peaceful

unification through North-South negotiations which is far more realizable and agreeable to the nation?

It is, first of all, for the purpose of maintaining their military rule. The militarists resorted to violence to usurp the legitimate government. They overturned the Chang Myun regime and destructed the law and order of the land including the Constitution. And in order to secure their dictatorship, they wiped out democracy from the land.

One big threat, however, remains before them. It is the North-South unification question of Korea. If unification should be realized through the All-Korea General Elections for Unification (which, of course, is the only possible formula for Korean unification), the military regime shall have to be dissolved. The militarists, therefore, listed "anti-Communism" at the top of their "revolutionary pledges" and arbitrarily denouncing peaceful unificationers as pro-Communists collaborating with the North Korean Communist regime, arrested and punished thousands of these patriots and as shown in the case of the execution of Cho Yong-Su, publisher of the Minjok Ilbo, committed unlawful atrocities against them.

This was not the end. The militarists enacted a new "Anti-Communism Law" which provided that any person advocating views on unification similar to that of the North Korean Communists shall be punished as "collaborators" regardless of actual collaboration with the North Korean Communist or the will to serve the interests of the North Korean Communists or not, and sought to wipe out the peaceful unification movement in South Korea.

Foreign Assistance

Secondly, it is to secure foreign assistance in order to maintain the military dictatorship. ROK governments under the divided state had to rely on foreign assistance and the present military regime is no exception. And foreign assistance was offered to South Korean only on the merits that it was a democratic state belonging to the Free World. But the emergence of the military regime devastated the democracy which the patron nations, especially the United States, value as their political faith. So something in place of democracy had to be thought up by the militarists to appeal to the Americans and here was borne the slogan "to combat Communism."

The Fraud

Thirdly, it is aimed to cool off the national aspiration for unification. Even the militarists could not ignore the fact that the entire ROK nation wishes an early unification, and had to admit that unification was the "unchangeable goal" of the nation. But, since unification implies the loss of the ruling position for the militarists, they must ward off any serious approach towards unification. Thus they devised to emphasize "anti-Communism" by giving it priority over unification; to call for a showdown with "Communism" with the aim to suppress the peaceful unification movement which worked for North-South negotiations and economic, cultural and personal exchange; and to turn the national aspiration for unification into support for the military regime in the name of strengthening the "material power" of the nation.

A doubt arises here: why can't the military regime, under the circustances, assert that it cannot agree to any unification until Communism is conquered and wiped out from the Korean peninsula? This is because the overwhelming majority of the South Korean people, despite the persistent anti-Communism propaganda, have been against perpetuation of the divided state which would only lead the nation to ruins, and fearing the people's repulsion, the military regime and the foreign powers supporting it had but to resort to fraudulent measures.

V Inpermissible Fraud

All Fakes

It might be argued that fraudulent unification slogans were common among past ROK governments and conservative parties and politicians. This was true. The Syngman Rhee regime advocated the nightmarish "unification by marching north" and "unification by holding elections only in North Korea" plans for the sake of using them as instruments to suppress the people. The Chang Myun government proposed the odd plan of "unification through anti-Communism by holding U.N.-supervised free general elections" and didn't care about giving any explanations on the relationship between anti-Communism and U.N.-supervised general elections.

Some conservative politicians, in the meantime, opposed the doctrine of peaceful unification merely because of its similarity with the North Korean Communist line and they just put such ambiguous terms as democratic unification and anti-Communism together and could not produce any reasonable concrete proposal. So, it could be said that the unification proposals of the past ROK governments and conservative politicians were mostly fraudulent plans. The militarists' unification slogan, however, outpasses them all in faudulence.

Absence of Peaceful Means

In contrast to such strong expressions as "national goal" or "strengthen our material power", the militarists' unification slogan contains no peaceful approach to the matter, like for instance the "U.N. supervised general elections" in Chang Myun's plan. All told, the militarists' idea on unification is to gain it by force. The impossibility of unification by force was bitterly proven by the Korean War. Such, therefore, will only buy the laugh of the nation and the world as well.

Defendants, however, plead that the military regime has promised to observe the United Nations Charter in the "revolutionary pledge" (no. 2: We shall respect and observe the United Nations Charter, and strengthen our relations with the United States and other Free World nations.), and made clear at the United Nations that it will respect the U.N. resolutions on the Korean Unification Question.

If the military regime really possess the intention to respect the United Nations Charter and its resolutions, it should at least proclaim its willingness to realize unification through peaceful negotiations. On the contrary, the military regime has not said a word about negotiations nor U.N. supervised general elections. It has only insisted on "combatting Communism" which means the use of force.

Absolutely Inpermissible

Nowhere can be seen the attitude of the militarists to "observe the U.N. Charter" or "to respect the U.N. resolutions." To be short, the pledge "to observe the U.N. Charter" is but an fraudulent cover to maintain the military rule and the promise "to respect the U.N. resolutions" is but a gesture based on the calculation that the resolutions have no chances of getting implemented.

Now can it be permitted to ill-use the United Nations as a cover to maintain such illegal undemocratic government, and to back up the anti-national divisionist policies of that regime? In the name of the United Nations and conscience of mankind, it is absolutely inpermissible to let such outrage by.

CURRENCY REFORM FIASCO

Economy Paralyzed

The reckless currency reform enforced by the militarists has brought about disastrous results. On top of the paralyzation of production, a vicious inflation is galloping again and economic bankruptcy seems imminent. The irresponsible militarists have taken the nation to the brinks of ruin.

Total Failure

Defreeze of All Deposits. On July 14 the military government promulgated a special measure which defreezed all bank deposits frozen by the recent currency reform. A Law Concerning Special Measure for Frozen Bank Deposits provided that all frozen deposits totalling some 7 billion won (70 billion hwan) will be converted to either "free accounts" or one-year term special bank deposits.

Self-admittance. Premier Kim Hyun-Chul explained that the measure was taken to cut through the economic depression brought about by the monetary reform. So, in a month's time the surprise monetary reform by which the junta leaders sought to "mobilize all speculative and hoarded capital" and "stem the inflation" already proved to be a thorough failure and the militarists themselves had to admit the, fiasco.

Thus another blunder has been piled on top of all the failures and mal-administrations the militarists have been committing This fiasco of the currency reform, however, is incomparable in showing the incompetence and ignorance of the militarists.

Devastating Results

Paralyzation of Production. The nation was entitled for a good laugh at the blunder of the empty-headed militarists but the damages impaired on the economy by the reckless money reform are so devastating that the depressed public can hardly be so complacent. During the period between June 10 when the reform was enforced to July 13, over-all operation rate of ROK businesses fell by 50% from the June 9 level. And as June 9 production rate was already down to 60% capacity, production rate during the reform period dropped to a low of 30% capacity. This is virtual paralyzation of production and the decrease in industrial and commercial business during the period is estimated at 6 billion won which is equal to one-fortieth of 1961 gross national product.

Loss of Trust in Banks. Then the public trust in the banking system has been so thoroughly undermined that financial sources claim that it would be impossible to recover the deposit and reserve levels of banks back to the June 9 level even if the banks should call on every former customer and solicited them to deposit their extra money in banks again. The confusion brought about on the financing and credit system is disastrous too. Owing to the reform, dishonored bills that piled up before the Seoul Clearing House amounted to 17,448 bills totalling 1.03 billion won during one week between June 10 and 17.

Bereft of financing sources, fund shortages of small and medium businesses have hit the bottom. According to the July 9 Seoul Economic Newspaper, the sharp drop in purchasing power lowered the overall Seoul sales to 66% of the previous month during June 9 to July 9 to the despair of these industries.

Beyond Repair. Such disastrous results compelled the military government to defreeze all the frozen deposits. But experts point out that the situation is beyond repair. The defreeze did raise overall operation rate a little but it is still lingering around the low rate of 32% of pre-reform level and the Seoul Economic Newspaper predicted that the shortage in working capital would make it quite difficult for ROK industries to recover their pre-reform production levels. It is also looked upon as hopeless to restore trust in the banking system.

Collapse of Five-Year Plan. Chairman Park gave "mobilization of hoarded money into the economic development plan" as one objective of the money reform and he estimated that the freeze on bank deposits would produce some 11.6 billion won for the 5-year plan. But such wily speculation proved too optimistic and due to the failure of the currency reform, the junta had to abandon altogether procuring funds for the economic development plan from the frozen deposits. Chairman of the Economic Planning Board Kim Yu-Taik announced on July 14 that the projected Industrial Development Corporation will not be established through the money frozen by the currency reform but through sales of government properties and industrial bonds as the deposits will be defreezed.

The currency furthermore undermined the little support the ROK public and foreign countries had retained for the military government. Thus the militarists through their own blunder have blasted away the last hope of inducing funds into their economic development plan: No Korean will hereafter feel inclined to invest in a project conducted by such reckless operators and foreigners have all turned away too. The amount of foreign investments the militarists secured so far reached only 1% of the sum estimated for 1962 first year of the five-year plan.

The recent money reform is said to have shocked the United States which is the last country the militarists are counting on for help. The militarists seem inclined to listen to anything the U.S. has to request now. The promotion of Kim Hyun-Chul to the premiership and the subsequent defreeze ordered on all sealed bank deposits reportedly was recommended by U.S. Ambassador to Seoul Samuel D. Berger. The July 15 Donga Ilbo wrote: "Who exactly played the main role in persuading the military government to defreeze the frozen bank deposits? Informed sources are attaching importance to the frequent talks being held between Premier Kim and Ambassador Berger."

At any rate, the future of the 5-year plan has become dark as ever due to the fiasco of the money reform and ROK papers say that a thorough review of the plan is inevitable.

Shake-up of Budget. The currency reform fiasco caused the Supreme Council to do a thorough revision of its second supplementary budget bill reportedly to be balanced at around 5 billion won. The original bill was to be compiled on the assumption that some 7 billion won of the frozen bank deposits would be blocked from circulation. But as all the deposits were released, the budget had to be compiled not to contain any deficit so that the inflationary trend, resulting form the over-all thaw of bank deposits, will not be accelerated.

Thus the second budget will only allot expenditures to defense purposes and emergency projects. The funds for these expenditures are to come from sales of government properties and extra tax income but selling government properties is not a job to be done in a short period and extra tax income is not possible unless prices of government monopoly products and services are hiked. So it is thought that the militarists will have to resort to higher taxes to the further dismay of the people.

Galloping Inflation. Chairman Park stated that another objective of the currency reform was to stem "vicous inflation." Inflation, on the contrary, has been accelerated and many predict that this inflation will be a vicious one even worse than that

which hit the nation after the Korean War.

The main factor of inflation so far had been the deficit government spending. As the government was compelled by the failure of the currency reform to release immense amount of loans for working capitals of the depressed businesses, low interest loans or easy money has become a new factor of inflation.

According to the latest figures, the money supply stood at 33.8 billion won as of July 15 which was an increase of 2.6 billion won in the past 15 days and over 6 billion hwan since money reform. At such fast rate, the money supply is calculated to far surpass the 40 billion won mark recently set as the stabilization line by ROK-U.S. joint economic commission.

Commodity prices such as those of food, clothing, marine products, processed goods etc., in the meantime, have literally skyrocketed. Food, for instance, rose by 27% over the June 9 level. Silk yarn soared by 24% during the same period. Bartering has now taken place of credit transaction and 30% rise in gold price during June 9 to July 9 is a clear sign of the trend.

The inflation has caused big demands for foreign exchange and during the first 9 days after the reform, $2,530,000 of foreign currency reserves flew out of the country. Exports have dropped to the lowest lever for the year too.

The least knowledge of economics would have dissuaded the militarists to go through with such reckless reform and so by July 14 the government already had to start discussion on a readjustment program to cope with the inflation and in mid-August it came out with a control measures putting price ceilings on all major commodities.

Reckless Reform

Ill-prepared. Chairman Park stressed the point that the currency reform was prepared in full details, but it proved to be the most ill-prepared and unprincipled work yet seen. The crudeness of the program caused the military government to face many unexpected situations. If they had the knowledge, the situations could have easily been anticipated but the ignorance ensued confusion and each time a problem came up, it was coped with a crude patchup work. Regulations of the reform were changed whenever a new situation arose and the Currency Reform Headquarters actually issued more than 130 instructions to banks and the public.

The Supreme Council, at the end of all the labor, had to defreeze all the frozen bank deposits. In order to eliminate the impression of utter failure, the defreeze was done by piecemeal measures and the most bizzare among them was the provision that made depositors take out loans in place of their own deposits

Public Repulsion. The loans were first given out to the mining firms. Then trading companies requested the same followed by servicing firms, military procurement agencies etc. until demand for loans spread to the whole economic society. These loans amounted to 4 billion won or 30% of the total frozen bank deposits and another 2.6 billion was lent out to small and medium industries, so a total of 6.6 billion won among the 11.6 billion frozen was already released by the end of June.

Irresponsible Militarists. Besides such blindness, the extraordinary laws and measures enforced in connection with the reform contained contradictions that ensued confusions. The freezing rate of long-term deposits, for instance, was set higher than that of current accounts. Such was contradictory to the savings drive the militarists whipped up in connection with the reform.

All the ignorance, ill-preparedness, lack of principle were typical of the militarists. Still they had with them the "brain trust" who could have dissuaded them from the catastrophy. These brains surely must have done so. The militarists, therefore, had desparate reasons to go through with the wild plan. One was the stock market scandal in which the junta leaders were involved. At any rate, if the military regime

were anything like a responsible government, Chairman Park should have resigned his office in blame of the fiasco. But the militarists are made of different fibre. On top of not giving a word of explanation, he has made his new premier shoulder all the work to bring the chaos under control which seems quite a hopeless task.

Further Concealment of the Stock Market Scandal

Concealment. The junta leaders who were the main authors of the recent stock market crisis receded into the background and turned the job of cleaning up the messed-up stock market to the Stock Exchange itself.

Despite his involvement in the Stock Market Scandal which sought to swindle 100 billion hwan out of the stock market through manipulated operations, Park Chung-Hee promised investigation into the stock market crisis brought about by that operation. According to the downright lie, an investigation team sent by the Bank of Korea was immediately replaced by the junta's team of investigators who were only interested in reporting that the junta leaders had nothing to do with the stock market crisis.

The currency reform and the firing of Premier Song were apparent measures to cover up the involvement of the junta leaders in the scandal. Believing that the measures had got the leaders in the clear, the Finance Ministry now instructed the Stock Exchange to do a house-cleaning by itself.

Self-punishment. On July 11 the Stock Exchange decided to suspend the businesses of the Tongil and Il-Heung Securities Companies for causing the stook market crisis. Four other firms, Tongyoung, Daechan, Taeyang and Daeyu Securities Companies were also suspended their businesses for two months.

These big firms, as a matter of fact, virtually possess control over the Stock Exchange. Now would the Exchange impose any real punishment on them? The first two companies, the Tongil and the Il-Heung were suspended business until they pay 4 and 7 billion hwan respectively for their uncleared accounts. But in reality the two firms own more than 20 billion hwan worth of stocks which means that these two firms are creditors of the Exchange. Thus the punishments were mere nominal gestures aimed to appease the bona fide investors who had suffered immense losses on account of the stock market crash.

Bona Fide Investors. The Seoul stock market was reopened on July 13 following government instructions. Only cash transactions are allowed for the time being. Future transactions are not available until the prerequisites to a normal market are firmly established.

The transactions on July 13 were big but Seoul Stock Exchange shares dropped from 60 chun to 44 chun. The bona fide investors who were lured into buying the new stocks of the Exchange with a premium of 14 hwan won per share at the end of May, therefore, lost exactly 14 hwan per share of Exchange stocks. The tremendous losses have incited the investors to censure the irresponsible Stock Exchange and these bona fide investors are reported to be moving to demand liquidation of the Stock Exchange and also to form a projected "Investors Association" which will look after the interests of bona fide investors.

Public Pursuit. In the meantime, the military government has not as yet said a word about the 37.2 billion hwan (3.72 billion won) of illegal loans given out to the Stock Exchange. Where the money went and whether it is recoverable or not still remains a mystery. So the biggest victims of the grand gamble played by the militarists were the innocent investors. The militarists may, for the time being, get away with the foul play but, in the long run, public wrath will catch up with them.

CONSTITUTION AMENDMENT

and "Park for President"

The militarists are forcing through a large-scale amendment of the suspended ROK Constitution. Their prime aim is to restore the presidential system in order to secure extension of the military dictatorship. Though maintaining an ambiguous attitude towards the matter, strongman Park Chung-Hee plans to get the presidency by entering the election race next year.

Nation's Concern. Pending government transfer in summer next year, the current amendment of the existing Constitution of the Second Republic has become the biggest concern of South Koreans. The military junta set up a Constitution Deliberation Committee on July 11 to draft the outlines of the new constitution. This group composed of 21 professors and specialists is to establish the drafting principles for the basic law of the future government by September and adopt a complete draft of the constitution by October.

The public, however, is not concerned very much about the type of government or parliament, for the militarists will have their way just the same. The nation is on the watch as to how the militarists will devise the amendment so as to perpetuate their rule and it is in wait for Park Chung-Hee to make clear his decision to run in the presidential race.

Park's Ambiguity. Sensing the growing public distrust in the military regime, the militarists' approach to the presidential election is so cautious and wily that they seem to have thoroughly dropped their heretofore high-handed attitude. Nevertheless Restoration of the presidential system is definite already and Park Chung-Hee's running for the presidency is but an open secret. Nevertheless, Park recently deliberately sidestepped the question in the most ambiguous manner.

During his inspection tour of Kangwondo, Chairman Park told newsmen on July 19: "Whether I preferred it or not I have engaged in politics. It would not be right for me to return to the army which should be pure." Then on the following day, Park issued a statment in reply to a written questionaire that asked whether he would run for the presidency and said: "I have not yet thought of it. If the people sincerely think about the nation's future, they will agree that the next president should be a man who knows politics. A military man could be needed during a national emergency, but I know very well that it is not profitable for the future of the nation if a military man like makes his debut into the political arena just when the nation is returning to normalcy."

Commenting on these ambiquous remarks, informed sources pointed out that it was a political statement directed toward the army, for Park had just met the First Army Commander, t. Gen. Min Ki-Shik and his division commanders. The front-line First Army men are not on good terms with the junta. Then the Chosun Ilbo wrote on July 21 that the two remarks by Park should amount to his retirement from politics but since junta spokesman Lee Joo-Ll warned not to "misiinterpret" the chairman's words, to jump to such conclusion was definitely in the wrong.

Park for President Definite. The militarists' preparation to push Park as candidate for president was begun as early as last fall. In March the Associated Press reported from Washington that Park

was making preparations to run. And in early June, Junta spokesman Lee remarked: "Chairman Park cannot help running for the presidency if the overwhelming majority of the nation should wish so."

The military government went further to conduct gallup polls with hopes to muster public support behind the "Park for Presidency" campaign. The polls, however, came out quite discouragingly and only one among the three conducted was published which showed that a lowly figure of 28.9% was in support of Park for president. So many think that the recent ambiguous attitude of Park on the matter came from the caution not to irritate the public which is not so much inclined to go along with the militarists' plan.

Extension of Dictatorship. The amendment of the constitution, undoubtedly, will be done in the direction to secure the extension of the military rule. For that, the militarists have but to establish an all-powerful presidential system and a weak national assembly. The recent mass purge of all powerful past politicians, by the way, was a definite step in this direction. This measure has already cleared the way for Park and his men to get elected virtually unopposed. The militarists, furthermore, are reported to have a plan to secure "automatic" seats in the new national assembly for all the present junta members.

The ROK Constitution has been amended three times so far and each time the nation had to suffer through the revisions which were always devised only to serve the interests of the rulers. So the public is extremely sensitive towards any amendment of the Constitution. The brave ones have claimed that the militarists had no authority in revising the Constitution.

On view of the public sentiment against amendment, Chairman Park stated on July 19 in his double-tongued ambiguity that he preferred to revise the existing Constitution rather than to enact a new constitution; the president would not be allowed more than two terms and if the people prefer it, the responsible cabinet system can be adopted.

The statement, of course, was not taken seriously, for the Constitution Deliberation Committee already agreed on July 26 that the presidential system was the preferable government for Korea's future political stability.

Dictatorial President. As reasons for the choice of restoring the presidential system, the junta spokesman said that the conditions for development of Korean political parties, the hostile attitude of the North Korean Communists and the economic conditions required South Korea to adopt the presidential system. The explanation clearly indicates the kind of president the militarists have in mind. It is an executive head with dictatorial powers unrestrictable by the legislature.

Once the militarists have secured such powerful president, they no longer mind what type the national assembly would be and the drafting committee is now engaged in a free debate over the merits of a unicameral and a bicameral assembly. The militarists, however, are in hasty preparations to fill the assembly with their favorite candidates. A selection of candidates is reportedly being conducted by the National Reconstruction Movement Headquarters and a reorganization of the constituencies is also being stepped up with aims to undermine the vote-getting power of past politicians.

These measures and maneuvers which are clear signs indicating the militarists' intention to extend the military dictatorship with Park Chung-Hee on top as president, naturally brought about bitter criticisms of the nation. Seoul newspapers have charged that the Supreme Council had no rights to revise the Constitution. The challenge was retaliated by a crack down on the daily Donga Ilbo. The militarists have returned to their old iron-fistedness and the Constitution is going to be tailored to suit only the militarists so as to perpetuate their dictatorship by giving the military regime a guise of legality.

CRACKDOWN ON PRESS

Donga Ilbo Case

The forceful revising of the Constitution by the junta has brought about sharp criticisms from the public. The daily Donga Ilbo boldly pointed out that the militarists were ineligible to revise the suspended Constitution. The wrath of the militarists fell on the paper and its officials were rounded up. The presses, however, are not to be discouraged and a showdown between the presses and militarists is bound to come.

Crackdown. Koh Jae-Wook, editor-in-chief of the Seoul daily Donga Ilbo and its editorial writer Hwang San-Duk were arrested on August 2 by the investigation autorities. The arrests followed questioning by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) since July 30 of eight officials of the paper including Koh and Hwang. The paper in its editorials of July 17, 23 and 28 criticized the deliberation being done by the Supreme Council on the constitution and wrote to the effect that the military government was ineligible to revise the suspended Constitution and that the only solution to the matter would be to restore the suspended Constitution.

In meeting the challenge, the CIA charged that the editorials violated the Anti-Communist and Specific Offenses Punishment Laws by spreading "false news story" and by giving "similar assertions as the Communists" in writing that "the country has not yet been recognized as a state since it has not been admitted to the United Nations."

Bold Editorials. The bold editorials of the Donga Ilbo dared to speak out the real mind of the nation. Many had claimed that establishment or revision of the Constitution was only possible by the National Assembly, but no paper ever went so far as to deny the legality of the military regime. So the officials of the paper were rounded up. This was only the second time that top officials of a newspaper were rounded up. Officials of the Minjok Ilbo were the first victims. The following is an extract from the Donga Ilbo's ill-fated July 28th editorial which summarizes the paper's stand on the Constitution issue:

"Referendum is not Omnipotent"

There is this way of thinking that asserts that the people retain the right to revise the Constitution whenever they wish it, since the sovereignty of the state belongs to the people. We, however, think it highly indiscreet to hold the illusion that national referendum is omnipotent. Three main doubts can be listed against such view.

Firstly, amendment or establishment of the Constitution must follow the general principles of law. The principles require that the Constitution can only be amended by the National Assembly and does not allow amendment through national referendum. So even though the military government authorities may amend it and gain the approval of the people on the amendment, such will not be an amendment of the existing Constitution but an establishment of a new constitution with identical provisions. It is therefore an extremely dangerous way of thinking to resort to national referendum as a means to revise the existing Constitution. Such thinking aims to establish a new constitution under the guise of revising the existing Constitution.

Secondly, to assert that a constitution established or amended through a national referendum is a democratic constitution is an irresponsible argument. South Korea has not as yet been recognized as a state since it has not been admitted as a member to the United Nations. Our government, of

course, has been recognized by that world organization. The U.N. recognition, however, stands valid only as far as the ROK government exists as a government set up in accords with the procedures of the Constitution established by the National Assembly elected through the 1948 general elections supervised by the U.N. Now if a new constitution is drafted in place of that Constitution, the recognition by the United Nations shall become invalid despite the new constitution wins the overwhelming approval of the national referendum. Thus we come to the logical conclusion that all the great accomplishments gained so far shall be turned into nought.

Thirdly, it is doubtful that the military government authorities are eligible to revise the present democratic Constitution. The only way the military government authorities can revise the Constitution is through national referendum but such revision brings about only bad results as we have pointed out above. So it leads us to the conclusion that it is not proper for the military government authorities to revise the Constitution. This conclusion is absolutely relevant in that the tasks of the military revolution was to wipe out the past evils of the country and not to change the basic democratic structure of the state. Amendment of the Constitution therefore can only be deliberated after a national assembly is formed in accords with the Constitution of the Second Republic.

Militarists' Argument. Besides cracking down on the Donga Ilbo, the Supreme Council assembled all the publishers and editor-in-chiefs of ROK newspapers before it and warned that newspapers must not abuse the freedom of press or else shall be met with severe punishments. The junta spokesman Lee Joo-Il also issued a statement warning

(1) The basic policy of the revolutionary government in regards to the procedures of enacting the new constitution is to have the Supreme Council draft the constitution and attain its establishment through a national referendum;

(2) some have argued that the Supreme Council is not eligible to deliberate and establish a new constitution since there could be no other way except in accords with the Article 98 of the existing Constitution. This thinking ignores the revolutionary spirit since it denies the Law Concerning Extraordinary Measures for National Reconstruction and all the laws deriving from it. Such attitude completely rejecting the military revolution cannot be tolerated.

(3) It is a dangerous way of thinking to claim that South Korea has not yet been recognized as a state since it is not admitted to the U.N.

(4) There lie suspicions that past politicians are deliberately obstructing the deliberation on the new constitution by utilizing the presses. The government will be on the alert for subservient arguments against the deliberation on the constitution.

Public Protest. Public polls have shown that the overwhelming majority of the public wishes the restoration of the suspended Constitution and, if need be, revised by a constitutional organ. In this sense, the Donga Ilbo had only spoken in behalf of the people. The militarists, in fact, had encouraged the public that its opinion will be duly revered in the process of drafting the new constitution. The outspokenness of the paper must have been too much for the militarists to swallow. Their crackdown on the paper has aroused public resentment and the ROK Newspapers' Association issued a statement on August 4 requesting immediate release of the officials and protested that the arrests involved dangers of suppressing the freedom of press.

The public pressure moved the authorities to release the newsmen but they must await indictment. With the ex-politicos purged, the last bulwark remaining against militarism in South Korea is the free press. A lot of measures have been enforced by the militarists to harness the press to their policies but the presses have stubbornly resisted. As things go, a big showdown between the two seems inevitable.

New Corruption in Army

Two new cases of corruption in the ROK army were recently brought out into the open.

On July 19 the Seoul Area Military Court began a trial of a bribery case involving the former director of the Office of Monopoly, Brig. Gen. Sohn Yong-Eul and the Office's former production bureau director Koh Shi-Chuk.

Sohn and Koh were detained last June 30 on charges of bribery and abandoning of official duty. Sohn was demanded three years in prison and Koh two years on Aug. 7 by the military prosecution. The prosecutor charged that the two defendants caused chaotic administration by changing the office's orginal plan to purchase land for a new cigarette plant without the approval of the Finance Minister and also that the two, during their visit to West Berlin, spent about $700 for entertainment which they had received from a German businessman as additional travel expenses.

It was learned recently that the military court prosecution was investigating a bribery case involving 8 officers and one civilian of the Army's Procurement Bureau and two businessmen. The suspects are charged of bribery and graft amounting to 3.5 million hwan in relation to dealings in slide rules.

The Army Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Kim Chong-O announced last Dec. 30 a mass purge of more than a thousand officers of the army and warned that the army would mete corruption with severe punishments. Nevertheless, corruption within the army increased and the year's total now reached 8 cases.

The top commanders' conference held on July 11 discussed the problem and adopted a special measure to cope with "illicit transactions concerning military supplies" as top assignment for the latter half of 1962.

No one, however, expects the army to rid itself of its deep-rooted evil. The corruption, in fact, is no longer limited to dealings in military supplies. As the military men have swarmed across into every sector of the national life, corruption involving these military men has become universal, and the distaste and anger of the nation are mounting with the day. The military certainly is not honest as Chairman Park has tried so hard to impress on the world.

Hunger Strike by Progressive Prison Inmates

According to the Aug. 1 Hankook Ilbo, 108 progressive "political convicts" imprisoned in the Seoul Reformatory Prison staged a hunger strike in protest against the mal-treatment of their sick inmate. Lee Soo-Byung of Hyunghi University and leader of the disbanded Students' League for Unification fell seriously ill but the prison did not offer adequate treatment. So the angered compatriots organized a hunger strike by contacting through the thick walls and resisted taking food for three days from July 20 to 22.

The prosecution office immediately probed into the incident and removed several leaders to solitary cells in another prison. The military government meanwhile tried to keep the incident a strict secret but the story was scooped by a news reporter of the Hankook Ilbo.

The progressives include members of the Socialist, United Socialist, Socialist Popular parties, Students' League for Unification etc. Lee Soo-Yoong was one of the student leaders of the April Revolution but was arrested by the militarists for his unification activities and sentenced to 15 years in prison by the Revolutionary Court last Sept. 30.

N. and S. Korean Addresses on Liberation Day

On the occasion of the 17th Anniversary of Korea's Liberation (Aug. 15, 1945) from the Japanese domination, Chairman Park Chung-Hee of the ROK Supreme Council sent a message to North Koreans, while Premier Kim Il Sung of North Korea gave a speech addressed to the entire Korean people. The following are excerpts from the addresses:

Chairman Park's Message to North Koreans

The only way by which to bring about an early realization of the day on which all the people of North and South Korea live friendly under a single roof of one independent and united state as brethrens of the same nation, is for you North Koreans to cut yourselves loose from the chains of Communism and rise courageously.

I sincerely hope that the day of "second liberation" for North Koreans shall come soon and I keep deep trust in your national consciousness and aspiration for freedom

On greeting this glorious National Liberation Day, let us pledge ourselves to bring about an early realization of North-South unification which is our national goal and I strongly implore North Koreans to cooperate with us in this work.

South Korea is now in a stage of great reconstruction and progress which will lay the foundations for eternal prosperity of the fatherland and national renaissance as well.

In the summer of next year, a powerful and new civilian government will be established in South Korea through free elections and South Korea will advance ever firmly in its work to construct a free and happy welfare state.

Premier Kim's Address to Korean People

On the occasion of the 17th Anniversary of the August 15 Liberation Day, I offer, in behalf of the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the Republic, my greetings to all comrades presen' here and the entire Korean people.

Today our people enjoy a happy, worthy and new life without any worries in the good socialist fatherland with a firm self-supporting national economy and resplendent national culture, and are continuing advacne towards the high peak of socialism at the Chullima speed with greater hope and confidence; united rock-firm around their Party.

Comrades! Occupying the southern half of our country for seventeen years, the U.S. imperialists have ruined the South Korean economy totally and turned South Korea into a land where hunger, poverty, terror and massacre prevail. Today, the U.S. imperialists are further intensifying the plunder and repressio of South Korean people, aggravating tension in Korea, and maneouvering more maliciously to obstruct the peaceful unification of our country.

The South Korean military fascist clique the free activities of all the political parties and social organizations and driving the South Korean people still deeper into the mire of unemployment hunger, ignorance and darkness. Furthermore, they are selling South Korean national economy to foreign monopoly capitalists under the pretext of utilizing the so-called economic aid.

But the U.S. imperialists and the fascist clique, however they may try, will not be able to block the way of the Korean peo-

ple who fight for the freedom, independence and national unification of their country.

When all the patriotic forces of North and South Korea make joint efforts to wage a determined anti-American national salvation struggle, the U.S. imperialists will be definitely driven from the territory of our fatherland, the military fascist dictatorship smashed certainly and the peaceful unification of the country tatained definitely.

On the occasion of our people's national holiday, I convey my brotherly greetings to the whole South Korean compatriots and extend my warm encouragement to the entire patriots and people in South Korea wagin a stubborn struggle despite the cruel suppression by the enemy.

I also send my national, compatriotic greetings to the 600,000 compatriots in Japan who are fighting in a foreign country for the unification, independence and freedom of their fatherland and for national rights and existence, as well as to all the Korean compatriots living abroad.

Notes

Unification is the main theme pondered by the two leaders. Chairman Park stressed that North Koreans must cut themselves loose from the chains of Communism and sympathized with their aspiration for freedom (as if South Koreans are ejoying freedom under his dictatorship); whereas Premier Kim again denounced the United States and the ROK military regime as the main obstacles to Korean unification.

The leaders have only reiterated their former positions on the problem but the tone of their addresses clearly indicate that both North and South Korean governments are in earnest preparation for a showdown on the unification question at the coming U.N. General Assembly.

It may be recalled that Soviet Russia has already sent a note to the United Nations requesting the General Assembly to discuss the problem of withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Korea. It is not as yet known how the Western nations will counter the action but all signs indicate that the Korean Unification Question will become a major issue and be debated in full this time.

The recent peaceful settlements of the conflicts in Laos and Dutch New Guinea have created a favorable atmosphere for the world to tackle the Korean question positively. The threatening situation in Korea, as a matter of fact, commands the world organization to make a constructive approach to the problem instead of getting it exploited as a battleground of East-West cold war rivalry.

The sincere wish of the Korean nation is that the General Assembly will turn its eyes to the outrages committed by the ROK militarists against the authority and accomplishments of the United Nations in that country.

If the Korean question is still too entangled to be resolved by the General Assembly, Koreans request that the problem be turned over to an International Conference of the nations concerned as the Indonesian Delegation suggested in the last session. It should be recalled that the 1954 Geneva Political Conference on the Korean Unification Question had made essential gains towards real solution of the problem; whereas no progress has been marked in the subsequent debates on the question in the General Assembly.

Notice

The publication date of One Korea No. 14 was temorarily moved to August 15 commemorating the 17 Anniversary of the Korean Liberation Day.

— Editor

NEWS OF THE MONTH July 1 to 31

Kim Hyun-Chul Elevated to Premiership

On July 10, the Supreme Council elevated Chairman of the Economic Planning Board, Kim Hyun-Chul to the premiership replacing Council Chairman Park Chung-Hee who had concurrently held the post since June 18. The Council also nominated Kim Yu-Taik as new Chairman of the Economic Planning Board and former governor of Bank of Korea Yu Chang-Sun as Commerce and Industry Minister succeeding Lt. Gen. Jung Nae-Huik. The remaining cabinet ministers were reappointed to their respective posts. The U.S. educated new premier served twice as finance minister in Syngman Rhe's Liberal Government. The junta apparently failed in finding an influential figure to succeed former Premier Song Yo-Chan and decided on elevating Kim. Some attributed Kim's promotion to recommendations by U.S. Ambassador Samuel D. Berger.

Three More News Reporters Arrested

On July 25, three news reporters were arrested by the police in Taegu on suspicion of false reporting. Choi Soon-Bok of the Chosun Ilbo dispatch in Taegu and Park Mun-Run of the Taegu Ilbo were held for reporting that residents of Kampo were using "privately printed" five won and one won bills due to lack of small bank notes in the area. Meanwhile, Choi Kyung-Jik of the Yongnam Ilbo was arrested for reporting that a mobster robbed a pedestrian of 24,000 won last July 21 after anesthetizing the victim who was on his way home from a bank.

Counter-coup Plotters Put on Trial

On July 28, Kim Sang-Don, former Democratic mayor of Seoul and 39 others were put on trial at the Central Court Martial on charges of "plotting to topple" the present military government. The defendants were divided into two groups the first of which included Kim and three other Democratic leaders and 4 former military officers. The other group of 16 included Ahn Byung-Do, chief of the defunct minor party "Iju-Dang." The first group was charged by the prosecution of attempting to stage two anti-government coups on Dec. 25 last year and June 13 this year. The 16-man group was charged of plotting a coup against the present regime including assasination of the its leaders in summer this year.

North Korea Proposes Talks at Panmunjom on Joint Olympics Team

On July 29, Radio Pyongyang stated that the North Korean Olympic Committee sent a telegram to its counterpart in South Korea proposin talks for a joint Olympics team for the 1964 Tokyo games. The telegram, the broadcast said, suggested holding talks between representatives of both Olympic Committees at Panmunjom on August 2. This was the first concrete proposal by either side since the International Olympic Committee decided that North and South Korea should send a joint team to the coming Olympics. The South Korean Committee has not replied as yet and there are no signs so far that the military government would change its negative attitude to the IOC decision.